

Interviews: 1001 respondents
 Dates: January 13-16, 1996

48 Male
52 Female
[5]

FINAL

Study #4066
NBC News/WSJ
January 1996

Diagram illustrating the layout of the 1996 calendar, showing the sequence of months and their corresponding numbers:

- AR (6)
- TYPE (8)
- SA (9)
- FORM (12)
- DAT (13, 14)

The year 1996 is indicated on the right.

1. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district in which you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

| | | |
|---------------------|----|-------------|
| Registered | 79 | [15] |
| Not registered..... | 21 |] |
| Not sure..... | - | |

2. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?¹

| | <u>1/96</u> | <u>12/9</u> 5 | <u>11/95</u> | <u>10/9</u> 5 | <u>9/9</u> 5 | <u>7/9</u> 5 | <u>6/95</u> | <u>4/21</u> - <u>25/9</u> 5 | <u>4/3-</u> <u>4/95</u> | <u>3/95</u> | <u>1/95</u> | |
|----------------------|-------------|------------------|--------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Right direction..... | 25 | 30 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 27 | 27 | 33 | 32 | 32 | 40 | [16] |
| Wrong track..... | 54 | 50 | 57 | 54 | 50 | 51 | 51 | 45 | 50 | 47 | 42 | |
| Mixed (VOL)..... | 14 | 14 | 12 | 15 | 17 | 16 | 15 | 15 | 12 | 13 | 12 | |
| Not sure..... | 7 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 8 | 6 | |

| <u>12/9</u> | <u>11/9/94</u> | <u>10/9</u> | <u>9/9</u> | <u>6/9</u> | <u>12/9</u> | <u>6/93</u> | <u>1/93</u> | <u>5/92</u> | <u>9/91</u> |
|-------------|----------------|-------------|------------|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 4 | + | 4 | 4 | 4 | 3 | | | | |
| 34 | 37 | 27 | 28 | 32 | 35 | 27 | 47 | 15 | 34 |
| 47 | 42 | 55 | 57 | 50 | 42 | 56 | 27 | 71 | 48 |
| 13 | 12 | 14 | 11 | 12 | 16 | 10 | 14 | 9 | 13 |
| 6 | 9 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 12 | 5 | 5 |

- 3a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing as president?¹ **[17]**

| | <u>1/96</u> | <u>12/95</u> | <u>11/95</u> | <u>10/95</u> | <u>9/95</u> | <u>7/95</u> | <u>6/95</u> | <u>4/21- 25/9</u> | <u>4/3- 4/95</u> | <u>3/95</u> | <u>1/95</u> | <u>12/94</u> | <u>11/9/94</u> + |
|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|---------------------|
| Approve..... | 46 | 51 | 49 | 46 | 46 | 47 | 46 | 50 | 46 | 44 | 45 | 48 | 43 |
| Disapprove..... | 43 | 40 | 42 | 43 | 43 | 44 | 42 | 39 | 44 | 45 | 43 | 44 | 48 |
| Not sure..... | 11 | 9 | 9 | 11 | 11 | 9 | 12 | 11 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 8 | 9 |
| | <u>11/4- 5/94</u> | <u>10/94</u> | <u>9/94</u> | <u>7/94</u> | <u>6/94</u> | <u>5/94</u> | <u>12/93</u> | <u>9/93</u> | <u>7/93</u> | <u>6/93</u> | <u>4/93</u> | <u>3/93</u> | <u>1/93</u> |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| + | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 44 | 48 | 44 | 49 | 52 | 57 | 56 | 50 | 45 | 41 | 52 | 57 | 51 |
| 44 | 43 | 48 | 44 | 39 | 37 | 33 | 39 | 45 | 50 | 34 | 26 | 16 |
| 12 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 9 | 6 | 11 | 11 | 10 | 9 | 14 | 17 | 33 |

- 3b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling the economy?¹

| | <u>1/96*</u> | <u>12/95</u> | <u>10/95</u> | <u>9/95</u> | <u>7/95</u> | <u>6/95</u> | <u>4/21- 25/95</u> | <u>3/95</u> | <u>1/95</u> | <u>12/94</u> | |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|------------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------------------|
| Approve..... | 44 | 47 | 42 | 42 | 48 | 43 | 52 | 43 | 50 | 46 | [18] 1 |
| Disapprove..... | 47 | 43 | 46 | 47 | 42 | 48 | 39 | 46 | 38 | 46 | |
| Not sure..... | 9 | 10 | 12 | 11 | 10 | 9 | 9 | 11 | 12 | 8 | |
| | | | | <u>10/94</u> | <u>9/94</u> | <u>7/94</u> | <u>1/94</u> | <u>9/93</u> | <u>6/93</u> | <u>3/93</u> | |
| | | | | 44 | 40 | 45 | 50 | 42 | 33 | 52 | |
| | | | | 47 | 51 | 46 | 39 | 48 | 56 | 28 | |
| | | | | 9 | 9 | 9 | 11 | 10 | 11 | 20 | |

- 3c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling our foreign policy?¹

| | <u>1/96*</u> | <u>12/95</u> | <u>10/9</u> | <u>9/95</u> | <u>7/95</u> | <u>6/95</u> | <u>4/21- 25/95</u> | <u>3/95</u> | <u>1/95</u> | <u>12/94</u> | <u>10/9</u> | |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|----------------|-------------------------|
| Approve..... | 49 | 46 | <u>5</u> 42 | 42 | 37 | 39 | 46 | 37 | 50 | 44 | <u>4</u> 45 | [19] 1 |
| Disapprove..... | 38 | 44 | 45 | 45 | 48 | 46 | 41 | 47 | 38 | 45 | 46 | |
| Not sure..... | 13 | 10 | 13 | 13 | 15 | 15 | 13 | 16 | 12 | 11 | 9 | |
| | | | | <u>9/94</u> | <u>7/94</u> | <u>1/94</u> | <u>10/93</u> | <u>7/93</u> | <u>6/93</u> | <u>3/93</u> | | |
| | | | | 32 | 34 | 53 | 33 | 50 | 38 | 47 | | |
| | | | | 60 | 54 | 31 | 58 | 36 | 43 | 22 | | |
| | | | | 8 | 12 | 16 | 9 | 14 | 19 | 31 | | |

- 3d. Looking ahead to next year's presidential election, do you feel Bill Clinton deserves to be reelected, or do you feel he does not deserve to be reelected?

| | <u>1/96</u> | <u>12/95</u> | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| Yes, deserves reelection..... | 41 | 43 | [20] |
| No, does not deserve reelection | 49 | 45 | |
| Not sure..... | 10 | 12 | |

- 4a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Congress is doing?¹

| | <u>1/96</u> * | <u>12/9</u> <u>5</u> | <u>10/95</u> | <u>9/95</u> | <u>7/95</u> | <u>6/95</u> | <u>4/21- 25/9</u> | <u>4/3- 4/95</u> | <u>3/95</u> | <u>1/95</u> | <u>10/9</u> <u>4</u> | <u>9/94</u> | |
|-----------------|------------------|-------------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------------------|-------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------------------|--------------|-------------------------|
| Approve..... | 26 | 32 | 31 | 30 | 36 | 43 | <u>5</u> 47 | 42 | 41 | 31 | 27 | 23 | [21] 1 |
| Disapprove..... | 65 | 57 | 59 | 58 | 53 | 43 | 40 | 44 | 46 | 48 | 63 | 67 | |
| Not sure..... | 9 | 11 | 10 | 12 | 11 | 14 | 13 | 14 | 13 | 21 | 10 | 10 | |
| | | <u>7/94</u> | <u>6/94</u> | <u>1/94</u> | <u>10/9</u> <u>3</u> | <u>9/93</u> | <u>7/93</u> | <u>1/93</u> | <u>4/92</u> | <u>10/91</u> | <u>7/91</u> | <u>10/90</u> | |
| | | 28 | 34 | 33 | 29 | 24 | 27 | 27 | + | + | + | + | |
| | | 64 | 52 | 54 | 60 | 65 | 60 | 56 | 15 | 26 | 28 | 22 | |
| | | 8 | 14 | 13 | 11 | 11 | 13 | 17 | 78 | 62 | 63 | 69 | |
| | | | | | | | | | 7 | 12 | 9 | 9 | |

- 4b. Do you approve or disapprove of the job Newt Gingrich is doing as speaker of the House of Representatives?

| | <u>1/96*</u> | <u>12/95</u> | <u>11/9</u> | <u>10/95</u> | <u>6/9</u> | <u>4/21- 25/95</u> | <u>4/3- 4/95</u> | <u>3/9</u> | <u>1/9</u> | |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|------------|------------------------|----------------------|------------|------------|-------------|
| Approve..... | 29 | 32 | 5 27 | 35 | 5 39 | 45 | 40 | 5 37 | 5 32 | [22] |
| Disapprove..... | 57 | 56 | 60 | 46 | 35 | 36 | 41 | 43 | 26 | |
| Not sure..... | 14 | 12 | 13 | 19 | 26 | 19 | 19 | 20 | 42 | |

- 4c. Do you approve or disapprove of the job Bob Dole is doing as Senate majority leader?

| | <u>1/96</u> | <u>12/95</u> | <u>4/21- 25/9</u> | |
|-----------------|-------------|--------------|-----------------------|-------------|
| Approve..... | 42 | 41 | 5 50 | [23] |
| Disapprove..... | 40 | 43 | 23 | |
| Not sure..... | 18 | 16 | 27 | |

5. I'm going to read you the names of several public figures, and I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so. **(READ EACH ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES.)**

| | <u>Very Positive</u> | <u>Somewhat Positive</u> | <u>Neutral</u> | <u>Somewhat Negative</u> | <u>Very Negative</u> | <u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u> | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|----------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|--|-------------|
| Bill Clinton¹ | | | | | | | [24] |
| January 1996..... | 17 | 29 | 16 | 18 | 19 | 1 | |
| December 1995..... | 18 | 31 | 15 | 18 | 18 | - | |
| October 1995..... | 16 | 31 | 19 | 18 | 16 | - | |
| September 1995..... | 15 | 32 | 15 | 20 | 17 | 1 | |
| July 1995..... | 15 | 34 | 17 | 17 | 17 | - | |
| June 1995..... | 13 | 33 | 19 | 19 | 16 | - | |
| April 21-25, 1995..... | 19 | 30 | 19 | 17 | 15 | - | |
| April 3-4, 1995..... | 15 | 30 | 18 | 19 | 18 | - | |
| March 1995..... | 14 | 31 | 18 | 19 | 17 | 1 | |
| January 1995..... | 15 | 29 | 18 | 20 | 17 | 1 | |
| December 1994..... | 15 | 26 | 19 | 18 | 21 | 1 | |
| October 1994..... | 16 | 26 | 16 | 16 | 25 | 1 | |
| September 1994..... | 13 | 28 | 18 | 18 | 23 | - | |
| June 1994..... | 17 | 29 | 17 | 16 | 20 | 1 | |
| December 1993..... | 22 | 33 | 15 | 15 | 14 | 1 | |
| June 1993..... | 16 | 28 | 15 | 17 | 23 | 1 | |
| January 1993..... | 33 | 31 | 15 | 9 | 7 | 5 | |
| May 1992..... | 8 | 24 | 24 | 23 | 14 | 7 | |
| Q.5 (cont'd) | <u>Very Positive</u> | <u>Somewhat Positive</u> | <u>Neutral</u> | <u>Somewhat Negative</u> | <u>Very Negative</u> | <u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u> | |
| Newt Gingrich | | | | | | | [25] |
| January 1996..... | 7 | 16 | 17 | 20 | 34 | 6 | |
| December 1995..... | 9 | 18 | 16 | 18 | 33 | 6 | |
| October 1995..... | 9 | 19 | 21 | 17 | 26 | 8 | |
| September 1995..... | 8 | 19 | 19 | 16 | 27 | 11 | |
| July 1995..... | 11 | 18 | 19 | 17 | 25 | 10 | |
| June 1995..... | 10 | 17 | 18 | 17 | 21 | 17 | |
| April 21-25, 1995..... | 11 | 20 | 18 | 13 | 23 | 15 | |
| April 3-4, 1995..... | 9 | 18 | 20 | 14 | 25 | 14 | |
| March 1995..... | 10 | 17 | 17 | 17 | 24 | 15 | |
| January 1995..... | 9 | 19 | 20 | 13 | 18 | 21 | |
| December 1994..... | 6 | 13 | 17 | 13 | 19 | 32 | |
| October 1994..... | 3 | 8 | 14 | 7 | 9 | 59 | |
| October 1990+..... | 1 | 8 | 10 | 6 | 6 | 69 | |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------|--------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------------|-------------|
| | | | | | | | [26] |
| Steve Forbes | | | | | | | |
| January 1996 *..... | 4 | 15 | 21 | 5 | 5 | 50 | |
| December 1995..... | 2 | 10 | 24 | 5 | 3 | 56 | |
| Pat Buchanan | | | | | | | [27] |
| January 1996 *..... | 3 | 13 | 30 | 12 | 20 | 22 | |
| December 1995..... | 5 | 16 | 24 | 16 | 22 | 17 | |
| February/March 1992. | 5 | 21 | 23 | 18 | 16 | 17 | |
| January 1992..... | 4 | 17 | 22 | 14 | 12 | 31 | |
| December 1991..... | 3 | 15 | 18 | 8 | 9 | 47 | |
| Timothy McVeigh EMBARG | | | | | | | [28] |
| January 1996..... | 1 | 4 | 11 | 4 | 42 | 38 | |
| Lamar Alexander | | | | | | | [29] |
| January 1996 *..... | 3 | 7 | 19 | 6 | 5 | 60 | |
| December 1995..... | 2 | 8 | 19 | 6 | 5 | 60 | |
| March 1995..... | 2 | 9 | 16 | 5 | 2 | 66 | |
| Phil Gramm | | | | | | | [30] |
| January 1996 *..... | 5 | 15 | 22 | 7 | 12 | 39 | |
| December 1995..... | 6 | 15 | 22 | 14 | 12 | 31 | |
| April 21-25, 1995..... | 6 | 13 | 20 | 11 | 8 | 42 | |
| March 1995..... | 6 | 14 | 22 | 8 | 9 | 41 | |
| December 1994..... | 6 | 13 | 24 | 6 | 6 | 45 | |
| Ross Perot¹ | | | | | | | [31] |
| January 1996..... | 7 | 19 | 27 | 21 | 22 | 4 | |
| December 1995..... | 7 | 19 | 24 | 21 | 25 | 4 | |
| October 1995..... | 8 | 19 | 29 | 21 | 20 | 3 | |
| September 1995..... | 9 | 17 | 28 | 21 | 22 | 3 | |
| July 1995..... | 5 | 16 | 26 | 26 | 24 | 3 | |
| December 1994..... | 8 | 22 | 24 | 18 | 25 | 3 | |
| October 1994..... | 8 | 17 | 25 | 18 | 30 | 2 | |
| September 1994..... | 5 | 14 | 29 | 23 | 24 | 5 | |
| July 1994..... | 8 | 18 | 26 | 21 | 24 | 3 | |
| December 1993..... | 7 | 16 | 19 | 24 | 30 | 4 | |
| November 1993..... | 11 | 17 | 21 | 20 | 27 | 4 | |
| September 1993..... | 12 | 24 | 26 | 19 | 16 | 3 | |
| July 1993..... | 13 | 24 | 25 | 17 | 17 | 4 | |
| January 1993..... | 16 | 26 | 24 | 16 | 14 | 4 | |
| December 1992..... | 13 | 22 | 27 | 18 | 15 | 5 | |
| Q.5 (cont'd) | <u>Very Positive</u> | <u>Somewhat Positive</u> | <u>Neutral</u> | <u>Somewhat Negative</u> | <u>Very Negative</u> | <u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u> | |
| Hillary Rodham Clinton | | | | | | | [32] |
| January 1996..... | 13 | 22 | 19 | 19 | 25 | 2 | |
| December 1995..... | 19 | 27 | 19 | 12 | 21 | 2 | |
| September 1995..... | 19 | 25 | 19 | 15 | 20 | 2 | |
| July 1995..... | 16 | 27 | 21 | 14 | 20 | 2 | |
| June 1995..... | 17 | 24 | 20 | 16 | 21 | 2 | |
| April 21-25, 1995..... | 22 | 21 | 20 | 13 | 21 | 3 | |
| March 1995..... | 14 | 26 | 22 | 14 | 22 | 2 | |
| January 1995..... | 18 | 22 | 21 | 14 | 23 | 2 | |
| December 1994..... | 17 | 23 | 19 | 16 | 23 | 2 | |
| October 1994..... | 18 | 23 | 17 | 14 | 27 | 1 | |
| September 1994..... | 15 | 24 | 19 | 15 | 24 | 3 | |
| July 1994..... | 21 | 25 | 17 | 10 | 25 | 2 | |
| December 1993..... | 26 | 27 | 17 | 11 | 17 | 2 | |
| June 1993..... | 21 | 26 | 18 | 12 | 19 | 4 | |
| January 1993..... | 27 | 30 | 21 | 8 | 8 | 6 | |
| Bob Dole¹ | | | | | | | [33] |
| January 1996..... | 10 | 31 | 24 | 18 | 13 | 4 | |
| December 1995..... | 11 | 30 | 22 | 19 | 14 | 4 | |
| October 1995..... | 9 | 27 | 30 | 16 | 12 | 6 | |
| September 1995..... | 11 | 31 | 24 | 16 | 12 | 6 | |

| | | | | | | |
|------------------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| July 1995..... | 13 | 33 | 25 | 14 | 10 | 5 |
| June 1995..... | 12 | 27 | 28 | 14 | 7 | 12 |
| April 21-25, 1995..... | 14 | 30 | 25 | 13 | 10 | 8 |
| April 3-4, 1995..... | 11 | 30 | 24 | 16 | 9 | 10 |
| March 1995..... | 17 | 34 | 21 | 11 | 9 | 8 |
| January 1995..... | 13 | 29 | 23 | 15 | 9 | 11 |
| December 1994..... | 16 | 31 | 21 | 14 | 10 | 8 |
| October 1994..... | 11 | 25 | 23 | 14 | 16 | 11 |
| September 1994..... | 14 | 24 | 24 | 13 | 12 | 13 |
| July 1994..... | 12 | 25 | 22 | 15 | 14 | 12 |
| June 1994..... | 11 | 26 | 26 | 12 | 12 | 13 |
| January 1994..... | 13 | 29 | 21 | 14 | 9 | 14 |
| June 1993..... | 15 | 25 | 24 | 12 | 10 | 14 |

- 6a. If the next election for president were held today, and Bill Clinton were running as the Democratic candidate and Bob Dole were the Republican candidate, for whom would you vote?

| | <u>1/96</u> | | <u>12/95</u> | <u>10/95</u> | <u>9/95</u> | <u>7/95</u> | <u>6/95</u> | <u>4/21- 25/95</u> | <u>3/95</u> | |
|-----------------------------|-------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|------------------------|-------------|-------------------|
| Bill Clinton..... | 47 | | 50 | 46 | 46 | 45 | 43 | 45 | 41 | [34 1] |
| Bob Dole..... | 40 | CONTIN | 40 | 39 | 40 | 43 | 42 | 43 | 48 | |
| Neither/other (VOL)... | 8 | SKIP TO | 6 | 8 | 9 | 6 | 7 | 6 | 6 | |
| Not sure ¹ | 5 | | 4 | 7 | 5 | 6 | 8 | 6 | 5 | |
| | | | <u>1/95</u> | <u>11/9/94</u> | <u>10/94</u> | <u>9/94</u> | <u>7/94</u> | <u>3/94</u> | <u>10/9</u> | |
| | | | | + | | | | | 3 | |
| | | | 41 | 39 | 45 | 41 | 46 | 48 | 45 | |
| | | | 43 | 45 | 43 | 43 | 43 | 39 | 45 | |
| | | | 8 | 5 | 6 | 9 | 4 | 7 | NA | |
| | | | 8 | 11 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 10 | |

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO CHOOSE A CANDIDATE IN Q.6a.)

- 6b. Would you definitely vote for **(CANDIDATE NAMED IN Q.6a)**, probably vote for **(CANDIDATE)** but are still thinking about it, or are you just leaning toward voting for **(CANDIDATE)**?

| | <u>Clin</u> <u>1/96</u> | <u>12/95</u> | <u>9/95</u> | <u>Dol</u> <u>1/96</u> | <u>12/95</u> | <u>9/95</u> | |
|--|----------------------------|--------------|-------------|---------------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| Definitely vote for candidate..... | 64 | 55 | 48 | 46 | 40 | 36 | [35] |
| Probably vote for candidate/still thinking about it..... | 19 | 24 | 28 | 21 | 27 | 25 | |
| Just leaning toward voting for candidate..... | 16 | 19 | 22 | 32 | 32 | 32 | |
| Not sure..... | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 7 | |

Combined results of Q.6a and 6b

| | <u>1/96</u> | <u>12/95</u> | <u>9/95</u> |
|---|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| Clinton Voters..... | 47 | 50 | 46 |
| Definitely vote for..... | 30 | 28 | 22 |
| Probably/Just leaning/Not sure | 17 | 22 | 24 |
| Dole Voters..... | 40 | 40 | 40 |
| Definitely vote..... | 19 | 16 | 14 |
| Probably vote for/Just leaning/Not sure . | 21 | 24 | 26 |
| Undecided (Q.6a)..... | 13 | 10 | 14 |

(ASK EVERYONE:)

- 6c. If the next election for president were held today, and Bill Clinton were running as the Democratic candidate, Bob Dole were the Republican candidate, and Ross Perot were an independent candidate, for whom would you vote?

| | <u>1/96</u> | <u>12/95</u> | <u>10/9</u> | <u>7/95</u> | <u>4/95</u> | <u>6/93</u> ¹ | |
|-----------------------------|-------------|--------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------------|-------------|
| Bill Clinton..... | 41 | 44 | <u>5</u> 39 | 38 | 40 | 35 | [36] |
| Bob Dole | 34 | 31 | 33 | 34 | 35 | 27 | |
| Ross Perot..... | 16 | 16 | 18 | 19 | 17 | 30 | |
| None/other (VOL)..... | 4 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 5 | |
| Not sure ² | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 3 | |

- 6d. If the next election for president were held today, and Bill Clinton were running as the Democratic candidate, and Steve Forbes were the Republican candidate, for whom would you vote? *

| | | |
|--------------------------|---|-------------|
| Bill Clinton..... | 4 | [37] |
| | 7 | |
| Steve Forbes..... | 2 | |
| | 7 | |
| Neither/other (VOL)..... | 7 | |
| Not sure..... | 1 | |
| | 9 | |

- 6e. If the next election for president were held today, and Bill Clinton were running as the Democratic candidate, and Phil Gramm were the Republican candidate, for whom would you vote?

| | <u>1/96</u> * | <u>12/9</u> | |
|--------------------------|---------------|----------------|-------------|
| Bill Clinton..... | 50 | <u>5</u> 53 | [38] |
| Phil Gramm..... | 27 | 29 | |
| Neither/other (VOL)..... | 10 | 6 | |
| Not sure..... | 13 | 12 | |

- 7a. During the past year or so, do you think Bill Clinton's performance as president has improved, has gotten worse, or has not changed either way?

| | <u>1/96</u> * | <u>12/95</u> | |
|---------------------------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|
| Has improved | 37 | 46 | [39] |
| Has gotten worse..... | 16 | 12 | |
| Has not changed either way..... | 44 | 41 | |
| Not sure..... | 3 | 1 | |

- 7b. If Bill Clinton is reelected to a second term in office, do you think he will do a better job in his second term than in his first, will do a worse job, or will do about the same job?

| | <u>1/96*</u> | <u>12/95</u> | |
|---------------------------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| Will do better..... | 41 | 43 | [40] |
| Will do worse..... | 9 | 11 | |
| Will do about the same job..... | 48 | 43 | |
| Not sure..... | 2 | 3 | |

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

- 8a. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or not a very strong (Democrat/Republican)? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT VERY STRONG DEMOCRAT/ REPUBLICAN.")**

(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly Independent? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")**

| | | | |
|----------------------------------|---|---------------------|--------------|
| Strong Democrat..... | 1 | | {202} |
| | 6 | | |
| Not very strong Democrat..... | 1 | SKIP TO Q.9. | |
| | 5 | | |
| Independent/lean Democrat..... | 1 | | |
| | 1 | | |
| Strictly Independent..... | 1 | | |
| | 5 | | |
| Independent/lean Republican..... | 1 | CONTINUE | |
| | 0 | | |
| Not very strong Republican..... | 1 | | |
| | 0 | | |
| Strong Republican..... | 1 | | |
| | 5 | | |
| Other..... | 6 | | |
| Refused..... | - | SKIP TO Q.9. | |
| Don't know/nothing..... | 2 | | |

- 8b. Let me read you a list of people who are seeking the 1996 Republican nomination for president. If you were voting today in the 1996 Republican primary for president, which **one** of the following candidates would you vote for?

(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean?

| <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;"> All Democrat 1/96 </div> | | | <u>12/9</u> | <u>10/9</u> | <u>9/9</u> | <u>7/9</u> | <u>6/9</u> | <u>4/21</u> | <u>3/9</u> | |
|---|----|-----------------|-------------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| | | | <u>5</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>5</u> | - | <u>5</u> | |
| | | | | | | | | <u>25/9</u> | | |
| | | | | | | | | <u>5</u> | | |
| Lamar Alexander..... | 5 | | 4 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 5 | [41] |
| Pat Buchanan..... | 8 | | 7 | 9 | 6 | 5 | 3 | 6 | 5 | |
| Bob Dole..... | 48 | CONTINUE | 55 | 56 | 53 | 52 | 58 | 58 | 60 | |
| Steve Forbes..... | 13 | | 6 | 7 | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | |
| Phil Gramm..... | 10 | | 12 | 8 | 11 | 13 | 12 | 14 | 13 | |
| Richard Lugar..... | 4 | | 4 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 4 | |
| Someone else/none (VOL)... | 3 | SKIP TO | 4 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 3 | |
| Not sure..... | 9 | Q.9. | 8 | 9 | 9 | 8 | 10 | 9 | 8 | |

- 8c. And among those same candidates, who is your second choice? **(RECORD RESPONSE UNDER Q.8c. ABOVE.)**

| | <u>All</u> | <u>Dole Voters</u> | |
|----------------------------|------------|--------------------|-------------|
| Lamar Alexander..... | 5 | 7 | [42] |
| Pat Buchanan..... | 15 | 22 | |
| Bob Dole..... | 24 | NA | |
| Steve Forbes..... | 13 | 12 | |
| Phil Gramm..... | 17 | 24 | |
| Richard Lugar..... | 5 | 5 | |
| Someone else/none (VOL)... | 4 | 5 | |
| Not sure..... | 17 | 25 | |

(ASK EVERYONE:)

9. What is your preference for the outcome of the November 1996 congressional elections--a Congress controlled by Republicans or a Congress controlled by Democrats?

| | <u>1/96</u> | <u>12/95</u> | <u>10/94¹</u> | |
|---|-------------|--------------|--------------------------|-------------|
| Republicans..... | 41 | 42 | 44 | [43] |
| Democrats..... | 38 | 41 | 38 | |
| Both equal/neither in control (VOL).... | 10 | 8 | 6 | |
| Doesn't matter (VOL)..... | 4 | 4 | 5 | |
| Not sure..... | 7 | 5 | 7 | |

- 10a. I'm going to read you a list of issues that people may be concerned about in 1996. Please tell me which one of the following areas is of greatest concern to you in 1996.

| | <u>Q.10a.</u> <u>Greatest</u> <u>Concern</u> | | <u>Combined</u> <u>Greatest and</u> <u>Second Greatest</u> <u>Concerns</u> | |
|---|--|--------------|---|-------------|
| U.S. involvement in Bosnia..... | 4 | [44] | 13 | [45] |
| Jobs and the economy..... | 34 | | 56 | > |
| The educational system..... | 22 | | 46 | |
| Crime and safety..... | 13 | | 33 | |
| The federal budget..... | 14 | | 25 | |
| The quality of the 1996 presidential candidates.. | 6 | | 11 | |
| None of them (VOL)..... | - | SKIP | NA | |
| All of them (VOL)..... | 6 | TO | NA | |
| Not sure..... | 1 | Q.11a | NA | |

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO CHOOSE A MOST IMPORTANT PRIORITY IN Q.10a.)

- 10b. And which of these areas is your second greatest concern for 1996? **(RECORD ABOVE UNDER Q.10b.)**

(ASK EVERYONE:)

- 11a. How satisfied are you with the state of the U.S. economy today--are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the state of the economy?

| | <u>1/96</u> | <u>7/95</u> | <u>4/95</u> | <u>12/94</u> | |
|----------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| Very satisfied..... | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | [46] |
| Somewhat satisfied..... | 37 | 39 | 40 | 41 | |
| Somewhat dissatisfied..... | 38 | 35 | 37 | 38 | |
| Very dissatisfied..... | 19 | 21 | 18 | 15 | |
| Not sure..... | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | |

11b. During the next year, do you think the national economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

| | <u>1/96</u> | <u>7/95</u> | <u>4/21- 25/95</u> | <u>12/9</u> | <u>10/9</u> | <u>9/94</u> | <u>6/94</u> | <u>5/94</u> | <u>3/94</u> | <u>1/94</u> | <u>12/93</u> | |
|-------------------------------|-------------|-------------|------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| Will get better..... | 21 | 20 | 24 | 31 | 31 | 28 | 28 | 27 | 29 | 44 | 43 | [47] |
| Will get worse..... | 21 | 21 | 23 | 17 | 24 | 24 | 17 | 21 | 16 | 16 | 19 | |
| Will stay about the same..... | 52 | 54 | 50 | 46 | 40 | 44 | 52 | 49 | 52 | 36 | 34 | |
| Not sure..... | 6 | 5 | 3 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 4 | |
| | | <u>10/9</u> | <u>9/93</u> | <u>7/93</u> | <u>6/93</u> | <u>4/93</u> | <u>3/93</u> | <u>1/93</u> | <u>12/9</u> | <u>5/92</u> | <u>9/91+</u> | |
| | | 3 | | | | | | | 2 | | | |
| | | 21 | 23 | 20 | 23 | 33 | 39 | 50 | 53 | 32 | 31 | |
| | | 27 | 24 | 29 | 27 | 21 | 15 | 9 | 10 | 20 | 24 | |
| | | 50 | 51 | 48 | 47 | 44 | 43 | 39 | 35 | 45 | 40 | |
| | | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 5 | |

+ Asked only of registered

11c. Which of these best describes your view of the economy during Bill Clinton's presidency?

| | <u>1/96*</u> | <u>4/21- 25/95</u> | |
|--|--------------|------------------------|-------------|
| The economy has improved, and I give Bill Clinton some credit for it..... | 28 | 38 | [48] |
| The economy has improved, but I do not give Bill Clinton much credit for it..... | 23 | 22 | |
| The economy has not really improved..... | 47 | 38 | |
| Not sure..... | 2 | 2 | |

12a. Would you say that you and your family are better off or worse off than you were four years ago?

| | <u>1/96*</u> | <u>12/95</u> | <u>9/92</u> | <u>7/92</u> | <u>5/92</u> | <u>4/92</u> | <u>2/92</u> | <u>1/92</u> | <u>12/91</u> | <u>10/91</u> | |
|---------------------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| Better off..... | 49 | 47 | 37 | 34 | 38 | 35 | 36 | 39 | 42 | 40 | [49] |
| Worse off..... | 25 | 26 | 40 | 42 | 39 | 43 | 41 | 40 | 39 | 37 | |
| About the same (VOL)..... | 24 | 24 | 21 | 22 | 22 | 20 | 22 | 20 | 17 | 22 | |
| Not sure..... | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | |

12b. What is your feeling about your own financial situation today--are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with your financial situation?

| | <u>1/96</u> | <u>12/94</u> | |
|----------------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| Very satisfied..... | 15 | 13 | [50] |
| Somewhat satisfied..... | 48 | 48 | |
| Somewhat dissatisfied..... | 24 | 24 | |
| Very dissatisfied..... | 12 | 14 | |
| Not sure..... | 1 | 1 | |

12c. During the next year, do you think your own financial situation will improve, will get worse, or will stay about the same?

| | | |
|-------------------------------|---|-------------|
| Will improve..... | 4 | [51] |
| | 0 | |
| Will get worse..... | 7 | |
| Will stay about the same..... | 5 | |
| | 0 | |
| Not sure..... | 3 | |

13. Let me read you several elements relating to the current economy. For each one, please tell me if this is an area in which you feel very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied. When it comes to **(READ ITEM)**, are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?

| | Very Satisfie d | Somewh at Satisfied | Somewha t Dissatisfi ed | Very Dissatisfi ed | Not Sur e | |
|---|-----------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|-------------|
| Your current job security..... | 30 | 31 | 10 | 10 | 19 | [52] |
| Current interest rates | 11 | 40 | 26 | 15 | 8 | [53] |
| The amount of money you are saving..... | 8 | 29 | 27 | 33 | 3 | [54] |
| Job opportunities in your area..... | 11 | 27 | 25 | 27 | 10 | [55] |
| Your retirement security..... | 16 | 34 | 20 | 25 | 5 | [56] |
| The rate of inflation..... | 8 | 26 | 32 | 27 | 7 | [57] |
| Your opportunities for career advancement..... | 16 | 33 | 18 | 12 | 21 | [58] |
| Your income keeping up with the cost of living..... | 11 | 35 | 27 | 25 | 2 | [59] |

14. Do you expect your children's generation to enjoy a higher standard of living than your generation?

| | <u>1/96*</u> | <u>12/94</u> | <u>9/9</u> <u>4</u> | <u>7/9</u> <u>4</u> | <u>5/90+</u> | |
|---|--------------|--------------|------------------------|------------------------|--------------|-------------|
| Yes, expect children's generation to enjoy a higher standard of living..... | 41 | 48 | 49 | 45 | 60 | [60] |
| No, do not expect children's generation to enjoy a higher standard of living..... | 52 | 46 | 45 | 50 | 37 | |
| Not sure..... | 7 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 3 | |

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

+ Asked only of registered voters.

15. From what you know, do you think that free trade agreements between the United States and other countries help to create more jobs in the U.S., or do you think they cost the U.S jobs? *

| | | |
|--------------------|---|-------------|
| Create jobs..... | 2 | [61] |
| | 1 | |
| Cost jobs..... | 6 | |
| | 2 | |
| Depends (VOL)..... | 3 | |
| Not sure..... | 1 | |
| | 4 | |

- 16a. As you may know, in recent years, many businesses have had to lay off employees and restructure their company to make themselves more competitive. This process is often called "downsizing." Has this process of "downsizing" affected you personally?

| | <u>1/96</u> | <u>1/94</u> | |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Yes, downsizing has affected personally..... | 30 | 28 | [62] |
| No, downsizing has not affected personally..... | 69 | 71 | |
| Not sure..... | 1 | 1 | |

- 16b. Still thinking about "downsizing," do you think most of the downsizing of American businesses is over, or do you think there is still more downsizing to come?

| | <u>1/96*</u> | <u>1/94</u> | |
|---------------------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| Most of the downsizing is over. | 10 | 11 | [63] |
| Still more downsizing to come. | 88 | 85 | |
| Not sure..... | 2 | 4 | |

- 17a. Would you prefer a graduated income tax system, in which people with higher incomes pay a higher tax rate, or a flat tax system, in which everyone pays the same tax rate regardless of income?

| | <u>1/96</u> | <u>9/95</u> | <u>4/21- 25/95</u> | |
|---|-------------|-------------|------------------------|-------------|
| Prefer graduated income tax system..... | 54 | 57 | 56 | [64] |
| Prefer flat tax system..... | 41 | 38 | 40 | |
| Both equal (VOL)..... | 1 | 1 | 1 | |
| Not sure..... | 4 | 4 | 3 | |

- 17b. Do you think that your own taxes would be higher, lower, or about the same under a flat tax system? *

| | | |
|------------------------------------|----|-------------|
| Taxes would be higher..... | 22 | [65] |
| Taxes would be lower..... | 20 | |
| Taxes would be about the same..... | 43 | |
| Depends (VOL)..... | 3 | |
| Not sure..... | 12 | |

- 17c. Would you prefer an income tax system that taxes both income from investments and income from wages equally, or a system with higher taxes on income from wages but no taxes on income from investments?

| | <u>1/96*</u> | <u>9/95</u> | <u>4/21- 25/95</u> | |
|---|--------------|-------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| Prefer income tax system that taxes both income from investments and income from wages equally..... | 41 | 54 | 57 | [66] 1 |
| Prefer system with higher taxes on income from wages but no taxes on income from investments..... | 36 | 30 | 32 | |
| Depends (VOL)..... | 3 | - | - | |
| Both equal (VOL)..... | 5 | 5 | 3 | |
| Not sure..... | 15 | 11 | 8 | |

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

- 17d. Which of these income tax systems would you prefer -- A) one that allows deductions for charitable contributions and home mortgage interest, with tax rates about where they are now, or B) one that does not allow deductions for charitable contributions or interest on home mortgages, but has lower tax rates? *

| | | |
|--|--------|-------------|
| A) Prefer system that allows deductions for contributions or interest on home mortgages/current tax rates..... | 5 0 | [67] |
| B) Prefer system that does not allow deductions for contributions or home mortgage interest/lower tax rates..... | 3 9 | |
| Depends (VOL)..... | 4 | |
| Both equal (VOL)..... | 2 | |
| Not sure..... | 5 | |

- 18a. From what you know, do you agree or disagree with most of what the Republicans in Congress are proposing to do?

| | <u>1/96</u> | <u>12/95</u> | <u>11/95</u> | <u>10/95</u> | <u>9/95</u> | <u>7/95</u> | <u>4/95</u> | <u>3/95</u> | <u>1/95</u> | <u>12/94</u> | |
|-----------------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| Agree..... | 34 | 36 | 36 | 35 | 32 | 41 | 46 | 45 | 49 | 41 | [68] |
| Disagree..... | 48 | 46 | 49 | 45 | 45 | 39 | 39 | 35 | 22 | 28 | |
| Both/mixed (VOL)..... | 7 | 8 | 8 | 9 | 13 | 10 | 8 | 10 | 9 | 6 | |
| Not sure..... | 11 | 10 | 7 | 11 | 10 | 10 | 7 | 10 | 20 | 25 | |

- 18b. Do you think Bill Clinton has been too inflexible in dealing with the Republican Congress, has been too quick to give in to the Republican Congress, or has struck the right balance in dealing with the Republican Congress?

| | <u>1/96*</u> | <u>7/95</u> | <u>4/95</u> | <u>3/95</u> | <u>1/95</u> ¹ | |
|---------------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------------|-------------|
| Too inflexible..... | 37 | 26 | 24 | 23 | 17 | [69] |
| Too quick to give in..... | 10 | 26 | 29 | 23 | 20 | |
| Right balance..... | 41 | 36 | 34 | 38 | 55 | |
| Not sure..... | 12 | 12 | 13 | 16 | 18 | |

- 18c. Do you think the Republican Congress has been too inflexible in dealing with President Clinton, has been too quick to give in to President Clinton, or has struck the right balance in dealing with President Clinton?

| | <u>1/96*</u> | <u>7/95</u> | <u>4/95</u> | <u>3/95</u> | <u>1/95</u> ¹ | |
|---------------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------------|-------------|
| Too inflexible..... | 56 | 50 | 46 | 43 | 47 | [70] |
| Too quick to give in..... | 9 | 10 | 12 | 9 | 4 | |
| Right balance..... | 24 | 33 | 31 | 35 | 43 | |
| Not sure..... | 11 | 7 | 11 | 13 | 6 | |

19. For each of the following issues, please tell me if you think that President Clinton or the Republicans in Congress generally have the better approach to this issue, or if there is not much difference. Who do you think has a better approach to **(READ ITEM.)**--President Clinton or the Republicans in Congress, or do you think there isn't much difference on this issue?

| | <u>President Clinton</u> | <u>Republicans In Congress</u> | <u>No Difference</u> | <u>Not Sure</u> | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------|-------------|
| Helping the middle class | | | | | [71] |
| January 1996..... | 38 | 22 | 34 | 6 | |
| October 1995..... | 40 | 23 | 32 | 5 | |
| July 1995..... | 39 | 25 | 28 | 8 | |
| January 1995..... | 40 | 31 | 22 | 7 | |
| The budget deficit | | | | | [72] |
| January 1996..... | 28 | 34 | 29 | 9 | |
| October 1995..... | 25 | 40 | 27 | 8 | |
| September 1995..... | 30 | 35 | 25 | 10 | |
| July 1995..... | 27 | 39 | 24 | 10 | |
| January 1995..... | 25 | 37 | 29 | 9 | |
| November 9, 1994 +..... | 23 | 46 | 27 | 4 | |

+ Asked only of registered voters.

Q.19 (cont'd)

| | <u>President Clinton</u> | <u>Republicans In Congress</u> | <u>No Difference</u> | <u>Not Sure</u> | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------|-------------|
| Foreign policy | | | | | [73] |
| January 1996..... | 31 | 25 | 29 | 15 | |
| October 1995..... | 30 | 36 | 25 | 9 | |
| September 1995..... | 26 | 38 | 23 | 13 | |
| July 1995..... | 27 | 34 | 26 | 13 | |
| November 9, 1994 ¹ +..... | 36 | 37 | 22 | 5 | |

| | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|----|----|----|----|-------------|
| Medicare | | | | | [74] |
| January 1996..... | 51 | 24 | 17 | 8 | |
| October 1995..... | 49 | 24 | 18 | 9 | |
| Taxes | | | | | [75] |
| January 1996..... | 34 | 31 | 25 | 10 | |
| October 1995..... | 34 | 36 | 23 | 7 | |
| July 1995..... | 24 | 35 | 30 | 11 | |
| January 1995..... | 24 | 37 | 30 | 9 | |
| November 9, 1994 +..... | 17 | 55 | 23 | 5 | |
| Welfare reform | | | | | [76] |
| January 1996..... | 36 | 36 | 18 | 10 | |
| October 1995..... | 35 | 36 | 20 | 9 | |
| September 1995..... | 35 | 36 | 20 | 9 | |
| July 1995..... | 29 | 37 | 24 | 10 | |
| January 1995..... | 31 | 40 | 21 | 8 | |
| November 9, 1994 +..... | 26 | 48 | 21 | 5 | |
| Crime | | | | | [77] |
| January 1996..... | 29 | 23 | 33 | 15 | |
| July 1995..... | 29 | 29 | 32 | 10 | |
| January 1995..... | 23 | 26 | 45 | 6 | |
| November 9, 1994 +..... | 18 | 38 | 40 | 4 | |
| Education | | | | | [78] |
| January 1996..... | 44 | 21 | 24 | 11 | |
| July 1995..... | 40 | 23 | 25 | 12 | |
| Jobs and economic growth | | | | | [79] |
| January 1996..... | 32 | 29 | 27 | 12 | |
| January 1995..... | 36 | 34 | 25 | 5 | |
| November 9, 1994 +..... | 30 | 44 | 22 | 4 | |

¹ The item read "foreign affairs."

+ Asked only of registered voters.

- 20a. From what you know, do you agree more with Bill Clinton and the Democrats **OR** more with the Republicans in Congress on the issue of the federal budget?

| | <u>1/96</u> | <u>12/9</u> | <u>11/9</u> | <u>9/95</u> | <u>7/95</u> | <u>6/95</u> | |
|------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| | | <u>5</u> | <u>5</u> | | | | |
| Clinton and Democrats | 44 | 44 | 49 | 38 | 38 | 38 | [80] |
| Republicans in Congress..... | 39 | 41 | 37 | 41 | 44 | 41 | |
| Both equal (VOL)..... | 6 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 4 | |
| Not sure..... | 11 | 11 | 10 | 16 | 14 | 17 | |

- 20b. Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way President Clinton is handling the federal budget negotiations?

| | | |
|-----------------|---|-------------|
| Approve..... | 4 | [81] |
| | 7 | |
| Disapprove..... | 4 | |
| | 5 | |
| Not sure..... | 8 | |

- 20c. Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way the Republican Congress is handling the federal budget negotiations?

| | | |
|-----------------|---|-------------|
| Approve..... | 2 | [82] |
| | 7 | |
| Disapprove..... | 6 | |
| | 2 | |
| Not sure..... | 1 | |
| | 1 | |

21. I'm going to describe two different budget plans that both would lead to a balanced federal budget in seven years. Please tell me which plan you prefer.

Plan A includes smaller tax cuts, spends more on Medicare, guarantees federal health care benefits to the poor, and makes smaller changes in the way government programs operate.

Plan B includes larger tax cuts, spends less on Medicare, turns responsibility for health care programs for the poor over to the states, and makes larger changes in the way government programs operate.

Which budget plan do you prefer?

| | | |
|---|----|-------------|
| Plan A/smaller cuts/more Medicare/federal health care benefits/smaller program changes..... | 54 | [83] |
| Plan B/larger cuts/less Medicare/state health care benefits/larger program changes..... | 37 | |
| Some of both (VOL)..... | 4 | |
| Neither (VOL)..... | 3 | |
| Not sure..... | 2 | |

- 22a. As President Clinton and Congress negotiate a budget agreement, which should be their higher priority: A) reducing taxes for the middle class, even if that means larger reductions in planned Medicare spending, or B) keeping Medicare reductions as small as possible, even if that means smaller tax cuts?

| | | |
|--|----|-------------|
| Reducing taxes for the middle class, even if larger reductions in planned Medicare spending..... | 27 | [84] |
| | | 1 |
| Keeping Medicare reductions as small as possible, even if smaller tax cuts..... | 66 | |
| Not sure..... | 7 | |

- 22b. Which of the following comes closest to what you would tell Congress to do about the federal budget?

| | | |
|---|----|-------------|
| Make whatever changes are necessary to balance the budget over seven years, even if it means reducing spending for Medicare and other services..... | 14 | [85] |
| Balance the budget over seven years, but with only small reductions in the growth of Medicare spending..... | 22 | |
| Balance the budget over seven years only if it can be done without reducing Medicare spending..... | 18 | |
| Balance the budget over an eight- or nine-year period in order to avoid reducing spending for Medicare and other services..... | 41 | |
| None of the above (VOL)..... | 2 | |
| Not sure..... | 3 | |

- 23a. Have you or anyone in your family been affected by the federal government shutdown, in terms of employment, services, or benefits?

| | <u>1/96</u> | <u>11/9</u> | |
|---------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| | | <u>5</u> | |
| Yes, have been affected..... | 18 | 18 | [86] |
| No, have not been affected..... | 81 | 81 | |
| Not sure..... | 1 | 1 | |

- 23b. For each of the following individuals and groups, please tell me whether in recent weeks you think they have been helpful in trying to reach a budget agreement, have stood in the way of reaching a budget agreement, or if they have been neither helpful nor stood in the way.

Do you think **(READ ITEM)** (has/have) been helpful in recent weeks in trying to reach a budget agreement, (has/have) stood in the way of trying to reach a budget agreement, or (has/have) been neither helpful nor stood in the way? *

| | Have Been Helpful | Have Stood In The Way | Neither | Not Sure | |
|--|----------------------|--------------------------|---------|-------------|-------------|
| Bill Clinton..... | 39 | 32 | 25 | 4 | [87] |
| Bob Dole..... | 34 | 31 | 24 | 11 | [88] |
| Newt Gingrich..... | 17 | 54 | 19 | 10 | [89] |
| The Republicans in Congress..... | 28 | 45 | 18 | 9 | [90] |
| The Democrats in Congress..... | 28 | 31 | 30 | 11 | [91] |
| The freshman Republicans in the House of Representatives..... | 20 | 36 | 20 | 24 | [92] |
| The Democratic Congressional leadership..... | 26 | 29 | 26 | 19 | [93] |

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

- 23c. Which of these is closer to your own view of the budget disagreement?

A) Congress and the President are divided over important policy differences, and should fight for what they believe in.

B) Congress and the President are each trying to gain partisan advantage, and should put politics aside to reach an agreement.

| | <u>1/96*</u> | <u>11/95</u> | |
|---|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| Divided over policy/fight for what they believe | 17 | 23 | [94] |
| Gain partisan advantage/put politics aside..... | 76 | 71 | |
| Both (VOL)..... | 3 | 2 | |
| Not sure..... | 4 | 4 | |

- 24a. Which one of the following do you think is the best way to reach a budget agreement? **(READ ITEMS.)**

| | <u>1/96*</u> | <u>10/95</u> | |
|--|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| Republicans in Congress should compromise more and move toward President Clinton's position..... | 21 | 18 | [95] |
| Republicans in Congress and President Clinton should compromise equally... | 59 | 60 | |
| President Clinton should compromise more and move toward the position of Republicans in Congress..... | 17 | 18 | |
| Not sure..... | 3 | 4 | |

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

- 24b. If President Clinton and the Republican Congress do not reach an agreement to balance the budget, who do you think will be more to blame--President Clinton or the Republican Congress?

| | <u>1/96</u> | <u>11/95¹</u> | <u>10/95²</u> | |
|--------------------------|-------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------|
| President Clinton | 33 | 27 | 32 | [96] |
| Republican Congress..... | 44 | 47 | 43 | |
| Both equal (VOL)..... | 18 | 20 | 18 | |
| Not sure..... | 5 | 6 | 7 | |

- 25a. Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the United States' sending military forces to Bosnia?

| | <u>1/96*</u> | |
|-----------------|--------------|-------------|
| Approve..... | 38 | [97] |
| Disapprove..... | 54 | |
| Not sure..... | 8 | |

| | <u>12/90</u> | <u>9/90</u> | <u>8/90</u> |
|-----------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| Approve..... | 63 | 76 | 70 |
| Disapprove..... | 33 | 20 | 21 |
| Not sure..... | 4 | 5 | 9 |

- 25b. In your view, has the U.S. mission in Bosnia been more of a success, more of a failure, or somewhere in between? *

| | | |
|-----------------------------|---|-------------|
| More of a success | 1 | [98] |
| | 6 | |
| More of a failure..... | 1 | |
| | 5 | |
| Somewhere in between..... | 5 | |
| | 3 | |
| Too soon to tell (VOL)..... | 1 | |
| | 1 | |
| Not sure..... | 5 | |

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

- 26a. Do you believe that Hillary Rodham Clinton has the right amount of influence in the Clinton Administration, too much influence, or not enough influence in the Clinton Administration?

| | <u>1/96*</u> | <u>1/95</u> | <u>10/9</u> | <u>6/94</u> | <u>5/94</u> | <u>3/93</u> | <u>1/93</u> | |
|------------------------------|--------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Right amount of influence... | 30 | 38 | <u>4</u> 35 | 38 | 38 | 46 | 50 | [99] |
| Too much influence..... | 54 | 48 | 52 | 51 | 51 | 38 | 35 | |
| Not enough influence..... | 8 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 6 | |
| Not sure..... | 8 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 9 | 9 | |

26b. Do you think that Hillary Rodham Clinton is a positive role model for American women, or not?

| | <u>1/96*</u> | <u>1/95</u> | <u>6/94</u> | <u>12/9</u> | |
|---|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| Hillary Rodham Clinton is positive role | 51 | 57 | 62 | 66 | [100] |
| Hillary Rodham Clinton is not positive role | 39 | 37 | 32 | 21 | |
| Not sure..... | 10 | 6 | 6 | 13 | |

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

27a. When it comes to the situation with the Clintons and the Whitewater Development Corporation, critics of the President say he is concealing information about his and his wife's involvement with Whitewater to hide embarrassing or even illegal behavior. Bill Clinton says he actually lost money on the deal and that all the important facts about his involvement are already publicly known. Which side do you believe--the President or his critics?

| | <u>1/96*</u> | <u>1/94</u> | |
|----------------------------|--------------|-------------|--------------------------|
| Believe the President..... | 35 | 43 | [101] 1 |
| Believe his critics..... | 45 | 36 | |
| Neither (VOL)..... | 4 | 4 | |
| Some of both (VOL)..... | 4 | 5 | |
| Not sure..... | 12 | 12 | |

27b. As you may know, an outside special prosecutor has been appointed to investigate the Clintons' involvement with Whitewater. In addition, Congress is holding hearings to investigate the matter. Do you think congressional hearings are necessary or unnecessary in addition to the special prosecutor?

| | <u>1/96*</u> | <u>7/95</u> | <u>1/94¹</u> | |
|------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| Necessary..... | 35 | 30 | 35 | [102] |
| Unnecessary..... | 60 | 63 | 61 | |
| Not sure..... | 5 | 7 | 4 | |

27c. Do you think President Clinton is telling the truth or not telling the truth about his personal finances and his involvement in the Whitewater affair?

| | <u>1/96</u> | <u>5/94</u> | |
|---|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| President Clinton is telling the truth..... | 36 | 43 | [103] |
| President Clinton is not telling the truth..... | 45 | 34 | |
| Not sure..... | 19 | 23 | |

27d. And do you think Hillary Rodham Clinton is telling the truth or not telling the truth about her personal finances and her involvement in the Whitewater affair?

| | <u>1/96</u> | <u>7/95</u> | <u>5/94</u> | |
|--|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| Hillary Rodham Clinton is telling the truth..... | 27 | 29 | 39 | [104] |
| Hillary Rodham Clinton is not telling the truth..... | 53 | 39 | 41 | |
| Not sure..... | 20 | 32 | 20 | |

28. As you may know, Timothy McVeigh has been charged with last year's bombing of a federal office building in Oklahoma City. In your opinion, is he guilty or not guilty of this charge?

| | | |
|------------------------------------|----|--------------|
| Timothy McVeigh is guilty..... | 65 | [105] |
| Timothy McVeigh is not guilty..... | 3 | |
| Not sure..... | 32 | |

- 29a. Do you regularly use the Internet or other on-line computer information services, either at home or at work?

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------|----|-----------------------|--------------|
| Yes, use on-line services..... | 20 | CONTINUE | [106] |
| No, do not use on-line services.... | 79 | SKIP TO Q.29c. | |
| Not sure..... | 1 | | |

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY USE THE INTERNET OR ON-LINE SERVICES IN Q.29a:)

- 29b. About how often would you say you go on-line--at least once a day, several times a week, a few times each month, or less often than that?

| | | |
|-----------------------------|----|--------------|
| At least once a day..... | 38 | [107] |
| Several times a week..... | 30 | |
| A few times each month..... | 23 | |
| Less often than that..... | 7 | |
| Not sure..... | 2 | |

(ASK EVERYONE:)

- 29c. As you may know, certain political information, such as the full text of speeches given by presidential candidates and legislation being debated in Congress, is now available through on-line computer information services. How much interest do you personally have in seeing this type of information -- a great deal, a fair amount, just some, or not that much?

| | | |
|--------------------------------|----|--------------|
| A great deal of interest..... | 11 | [108] |
| A fair amount of interest..... | 41 | |
| Just some interest..... | 17 | |
| Not that much interest..... | 55 | |
| Not sure..... | 3 | |

FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

- F1a. Did you happen to vote in the 1992 presidential election?

(IF "YES," ASK:) For whom did you vote--George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, or Ross Perot, the Independent?

| | | |
|--------------------|----|--------------|
| Yes, Voted | | |
| George Bush..... | 29 | {200} |
| Bill Clinton | 36 | |
| Ross Perot..... | 10 | |

| | |
|---|---|
| None (VOL)/not sure/refused..... | 2 |
| <u>No, Did Not Vote</u> | 2 |
| | 0 |
| <u>Not Sure If Voted/Refused</u> | 3 |

- F1b. Thinking about the last few state and national elections in which you have voted, which best describes the candidates for whom you voted?

| | | |
|---|---|--------------|
| Almost all Republicans..... | 1 | {251} |
| | 1 | |
| Mostly Republicans, but a few Democrats..... | 2 | |
| | 0 | |
| A few more Republicans than Democrats..... | 6 | |
| The same number of Republicans and Democrats..... | 1 | |
| | 6 | |
| A few more Democrats than Republicans..... | 5 | |
| Mostly Democrats, but a few Republicans..... | 1 | |
| | 5 | |
| Almost all Democrats..... | 1 | |
| | 6 | |
| Not sure..... | 1 | |
| | 1 | |

- F2. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or do you think your views cannot really be described in those terms?

| | | |
|---|---|--------------|
| Very liberal..... | 5 | {201} |
| Somewhat liberal..... | 1 | |
| | 8 | |
| Moderate..... | 2 | |
| | 4 | |
| Somewhat conservative..... | 2 | |
| | 3 | |
| Very conservative..... | 1 | |
| | 0 | |
| Views cannot be described in those terms..... | 1 | |
| | 7 | |
| Not sure..... | 3 | |

- F3. What is the last grade you completed in school?

| | | |
|--|---|--------------|
| Grade school..... | 1 | {203} |
| Some high school..... | 7 | |
| High school graduate..... | 3 | |
| | 2 | |
| Some college, no degree..... | 1 | |
| | 7 | |
| Vocational training, 2-year college..... | 1 | |
| | 1 | |
| 4-year college/bachelor's degree..... | 1 | |
| | 8 | |
| Some postgraduate work, no degree..... | 2 | |
| 2-3 years' postgraduate work, master's degree..... | 9 | |
| Doctoral degree/law degree..... | 2 | |
| Not sure..... | 1 | |

- F4. How old are you? (IF REFUSED, ASK:) Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

| | | |
|------------|----|--------------|
| 18-24..... | 12 | {204} |
| | | } |
| 25-29..... | 11 | |
| 30-34..... | 11 | |
| 35-39..... | 11 | |
| 40-44..... | 11 | |
| 45-49..... | 9 | |

| | |
|------------------|----|
| 50-54..... | 6 |
| 55-59..... | 5 |
| 60-64..... | 5 |
| 65 and over..... | 17 |
| Refused..... | 2 |

F5a. What type of work do you do?

| | | | |
|----------------------------|---|-----------------|--------------|
| Professional/manager..... | 2 | | {205} |
| | 7 | | |
| White collar worker..... | 1 | CONTINUE | |
| | 8 | | |
| Blue collar worker..... | 2 | | |
| | 1 | | |
| Farmer..... | 1 | | |
| <hr/> | | | |
| Student..... | 3 | | |
| Homemaker..... | 6 | | |
| Retired..... | 2 | SKIP TO | |
| | 0 | Q.F6a. | |
| Unemployed..... | 2 | | |
| Never worked/not sure..... | 2 | | |

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY ARE EMPLOYED IN F.5a.)

F5b. And do you work on a full-time basis or a part-time basis?

| | | |
|-------------------------|----|--------------|
| Employed full-time..... | 78 | {225} |
| | | } |
| Employed part-time..... | 19 | |
| Not sure..... | 3 | |

(ASK EVERYONE:)

F6a. What is your marital status--are you single and never married, married, separated, divorced, or widowed?

| | | | |
|-----------------------|---|-----------------------|--------------|
| Single..... | 2 | SKIP TO Q.F7a. | {220} |
| | 4 | | |
| Married..... | 5 | CONTINUE | |
| | 5 | | |
| Separated..... | 2 | | |
| Divorced..... | 9 | SKIP TO Q.F7a. | |
| Widowed..... | 9 | | |
| Not sure/refused..... | 1 | | |

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY ARE MARRIED IN Q.F6a.)

F6b. What type of work does your spouse do?

| | | | |
|----------------------------|---|-----------------|--------------|
| Professional/manager..... | 2 | | {226} |
| | 9 | | |
| White collar worker..... | 2 | CONTINUE | |
| | 0 | | |
| Blue collar worker..... | 1 | | |
| | 8 | | |
| Farmer..... | 1 | | |
| <hr/> | | | |
| Student..... | 1 | | |
| Homemaker..... | 1 | | |
| | 1 | | |
| Retired..... | 1 | SKIP TO | |
| | 6 | Q.F7a. | |
| Unemployed..... | 2 | | |
| Never worked/not sure..... | 2 | | |

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY ARE MARRIED IN Q.F6a AND THAT THEIR SPOUSE IS EMPLOYED IN Q.F6b.)

F6c. And does your spouse work on a full-time basis or a part-time basis?

| | | |
|-------------------------|----|--------------|
| Employed full-time..... | 86 | {227} |
| | | } |
| Employed part-time..... | 11 | |

Not sure..... 3

(ASK EVERYONE:)

F7a. In what religion were you brought up?

| | | | |
|-----------------------|---|----------------------|--------------|
| Protestant..... | 5 | CONTINUE | {207} |
| | 5 | | |
| Catholic..... | 3 | SKIP TO Q.F8. | |
| | 2 | | |
| Jewish..... | 3 | | |
| Other..... | 5 | | |
| None..... | 3 | | |
| Not sure/refused..... | 2 | | |

(ASK ONLY OF PROTESTANTS IN Q.F7a)

F7b. Would you describe yourself as either a fundamentalist or an evangelical Christian, or would you not describe yourself that way?

| | | |
|--|----|--------------|
| Yes, fundamentalist/evangelical/both | 15 | {208} |
| No, neither fundamentalist or evangelical. . | 35 | |
| Not sure..... | 5 | |
| Non-Protestants (Q.F7a)..... | 45 | |

(ASK EVERYONE:)

F8. Are you, or is any member of your household, a member of a labor union?

| | | |
|----------------------------|---|--------------|
| Labor union member..... | 1 | {213} |
| | 2 | |
| Labor union household..... | 9 | |
| Nonunion household..... | 7 | |
| | 6 | |
| Not sure..... | 3 | |

F9. For each of the following descriptions I read, please tell me if this applies to you personally. First, **(READ ITEM)** -- does that apply to you or doesn't it?

| | <u>Applies</u> | <u>Does Not Apply</u> | <u>Not Sure</u> | |
|---|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| A supporter of Conservative Christian political organizations, such as the Christian Coalition..... | 10 | 84 | 6 | [109] |
| A veteran of the U.S. armed forces..... | 20 | 78 | 2 | [110] |
| Have children under age 18 living in your household..... | 37 | 61 | 2 | [111] |
| A regular listener to political call-in shows on the radio..... | 26 | 72 | 2 | [112] |
| You or a member of your immediate family has been laid off from a job in the past two years..... | 18 | 80 | 2 | [113] |
| Own more than one thousand dollars in corporate stocks or bonds..... | 32 | 63 | 5 | [114] |
| Have the primary responsibility for caring for an elderly relative..... | 15 | 83 | 2 | [115] |

F10. Are you white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or something else?

| | | |
|-----------------------|----|--------------|
| White..... | 80 | {214} |
| Black..... | 11 | |
| Hispanic..... | 6 | |
| Asian..... | 1 | |
| Other..... | 1 | |
| Not sure/refused..... | 1 | |

- F11. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, between \$75,000 and \$100,000, or would the total be more than that?

| | | |
|------------------------------------|---|--------------|
| Less than \$10,000..... | 7 | {216} |
| Between \$10,000 and \$20,000..... | 1 | |
| | 1 | |
| Between \$20,000 and \$30,000..... | 1 | |
| | 7 | |
| Between \$30,000 and \$40,000..... | 1 | |
| | 6 | |
| Between \$40,000 and \$50,000..... | 1 | |
| | 0 | |
| Between \$50,000 and \$75,000..... | 1 | |
| | 6 | |
| Between \$75,000 and \$100,000.... | 7 | |
| More than \$100,000..... | 6 | |
| Not sure/refused..... | 1 | |
| | 0 | |

- F12. This survey is being conducted as part of continuing coverage of national issues by NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. A few reporters assigned to this story will be calling back a selected number of participants to get additional insights. Would you have any objection to being contacted?

| | | |
|--------------------------|---|--------------|
| Do not object..... | 8 | {217} |
| | 1 | |
| Object--do not call..... | 1 | |
| | 9 | |